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[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

/footnote 1 cont./ /see note 52, p. 320/, VI). (Cf. Gastão Cruls, Hileia Amazônica -- C. E. N., 1944 -- p. 35.)

The name Ucaiari (as is usual for the ones that end in ri or li) is of Arwake origin. In the language of the Arara-tapuya and the Kadáu-puritãna, the Uaupés River is called Ukayalí; in the Huhúdeni /Huhuteni/ it is called Ukávari (all three are of the Arwake group). It might perhaps be derived from U(ni), water river, and Kawale (in Kadáu-puritãna) or Kawáeri (in Hihúdeni /sic/), wind. Nevertheless, none of the old people of the various Arwake tribes of the Içana and Aiarí rivers whom we could consult were able to indicate the meaning of the term Caiarí or Ucaiari. Just as the other tribes who inhabit the Uaupés did not know it either. All of them designate the Uaupés as "Dya Poxsá," river of the Makú (?). This designation might induce one to think that the Makú (Puxsá /sic/) were the first to inhabit its shores, and afterwards, under pressure from the Arwake and Tukano invaders, went to settle in the interior, in the adjacent forests, from the environs of S. Gabriel as far as the cachoeiras of Jandú and Carurú (on the Uaupés River). The truth is that, according to the spirit of the language, River of the Makú should be translated as "Poxsá Dyá" and not as "Dyá Poxsá."

as it was known up to a few years ago, a tributary that flows into the Rio Negro about 50 kilometers above the town of S. Gabriel-da-Cachoeira, now called Uaupés.

133 The Uaupés results, according to Dr. Hamilton Rice, from the union of the rivers Unilla, which is the more important, and Itilla, both with their origins in the plains that border the buttresses of the Colombian Andes. After a course of about 330 kilometers in Colombian territory, the Uaupés advances in the

4: Silva--6 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter I

The Habitat

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The area whose ethnographic elements are collected in these notes is the basin of the Uaupés or Caiari River (1).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

1. Caiari, or formerly Ucaiari, would be the original name, according to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha, who, in No. 184 of his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/" (see below, II, 2 /see p. 25/), says: -- "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manaos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attribute to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé."

It is to be noted that, although its waters are not as dark as those of the Rio Negro, the Uaupés is one of a number of rivers of "black waters."

"All these tribes," reports Wallace ("Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro" -- London, 1849, p. 335), "present some peculiarities in their idioms and customs, but all of them come under the general name of Uaupés and distinguish themselves, as a whole, from the inhabitants of the other rivers. This is the reason that the river is called Rio dos Uaupés (the River of the Uaupés), although actually its name is Ucaiari and it is called this by the Indians."

We read recently (May of 1956) in Luiz da Câmara Cascudo ("Em memória de Stradelli /In memory of Stradelli/," Livr. Clássica-Manaus, 1936, p. 7) that Stradelli mentions a powerful Tuxáua /chief/ Buapé, of the Taryana /Tariana/ tribe (whose ninth-generation grandson, Maximiliano José Roberto, accompanied Stradelli on his journeys), who would have lived around the end of the sixteenth century and lent the name to

/9 cont./

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/footnote 1 cont./ the river (cf. below, Note 5, Ch. II /see note 8, Ch. II, p. 40/).

This belief has also been adopted today on the Rio Negro. We do not know, however, if it is based on the opinion of Stradelli, or if he gave rise to it. At the end of the nineteenth century, with Stradelli, the name Uaupés is presented to us as a corruption of the original word Buapé. Around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, Uaupé would be the original form from which, through corruption, the term Goaupé originated, and no mention is made of the Tuxáua by the name of Buapé, the memory of whom, if he existed, should have been more vivid at that time. Who is right? /The footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

Which language would the name Uaupés belong to? And what does it mean? The present-day natives do not know how to answer that, nor did those of half a century ago. As a matter of fact, Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 131) says only that the name is depreciative; this, however, because under the name of Uaupés are included tribes that are ignorant, wild (Wildstaemme), and scorned, such as the Tukano /Tucano/ and the Kubewãna, who fought against the more advanced Arwake /Arawak/.

In Stradelli's Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, we find the remark: "Iasaná" -- Breed of the Afflicted /Port. Casta das Rallidas/. Name that on the lower Amazon and on the Grão-Pará is given to Parra Iaçaná, which on the Solimões is called Piasóca -- and on the Rio Negro, Uaupé and Uapé.

The river in turn lent the name to a plant characteristic of the stones of its cachoeiras /rapids; see note 2, p. 9/. As a matter of fact, it is called uaupé or uaupé-da-cachoeira (and also carurú-das-pedras /carurú of the stones/ and murera-das-cachoeiras), an aquatic plant that grows on the stones of the cachoeiras of this river and that furthermore serves the Indians for the extraction of salt (cf. Note 51

[824]
[263]

/9 cont./

• 133 direction SE and S as a demarcator of /10/ frontiers between Brazil and Colombia, as far as Iauareté-cachoeira (2),

2. In Amazonia, places in which the course of the water exhibits some slope with eddies, rapids, and true cascades or waterfalls, the latter, by the way, being rare, are called cachoeiras. Since native denominations are involved, the names come in a construction similar to the Saxonic genitive or possessive, which is very much in the spirit of the Tukano language and of the native languages of the region in general. For this reason one says: Iauareté-cachoeira, Parí-cachoeira, Taracuá-ponta, etc., instead of cachoeira de Iauareté /cachoeira of Iauareté/ or de Parí, ponta /point/ de taracuá, etc., according to the character of the Portuguese language.

where, on the right bank, the tributary of the Papurí River occurs. Then, taking the direction east, it runs completely inside Brazil until it drains into the Rio Negro, after having received, again from the right, the Tiquié River, a little below the povoado /populated place/ of Taracuá-ponta. Inside Brazilian territory it advances 520 kilometers (thus having a total course of 850 kilometers) and exhibits a maximum width of 3 kilometers and a minimum of approximately 200 meters.

103 133 /11/ The Papurí (or Capurí, as it was also formerly called) results from the union of two tributaries in Colombian territory, a little above "Melo Franco," the Áua and the Paca. Nearly the totality of its course, however, about 280 kilometers, delimits the frontier between Brazil and Colombia. The natives call it "Oxkó fiyíse dyá," that is, river of black water; indeed, its waters are darker than those of the Uaupés. It runs into the Uaupés at Iaureté-cachoeira, with a width of 250 meters.

/11 cont./

103 Although it presents an average declivity of 0.32 m. per
• 133 kilometer, it possesses a subsoil of granite, with innumerable levelings and cachoeiras (3)

[114] 3. The Comissão Brasileira de Fronteiras /Brazilian Commission of Frontiers/, under the direction of Marechal /Marshal/ Boanerges Lopes de Souza, who did the surveying of this river, recorded 39 cachoeiras. Moreover, it has some islets and islands, and therefore its width reaches 500 meters.

[505] which endanger navigation. Or, rather, it is only passable with small canoes and montarias (4),

[501] 4. "Montarias" are the canoes that have been enlarged by one or more longitudinal planks fitted to their sides.

which sometimes advance through the rushing rapids by arm or pulled by tow ropes, or are even transported across the rocks or bordering forest by way of the "varadoiros" (5).

5. "Varadoiros" are the passages opened up in the forest, or along the rivers in the stretches that are not navigable; or as shortcuts between two points, in order to avoid the long windings of the rivers.

The Tiquié is the other tributary, and more important than the Papurí. It results from two igarapés, or streams: the Uaracú-pirera (in Nheengatú it means "skin of aracú /a fish/"), which takes the name of Tiquié, a name of unknown origin and meaning (also like Caiarí and Papurí), after it receives the Macucú. Those of Tukano language name the Tiquié "Kõsá," the meaning of which, however, they do not know. Extremely sinuous, it measures about 450 kilometers in course, almost all

4: Silva--17 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Map facing p. 16 in the original source/

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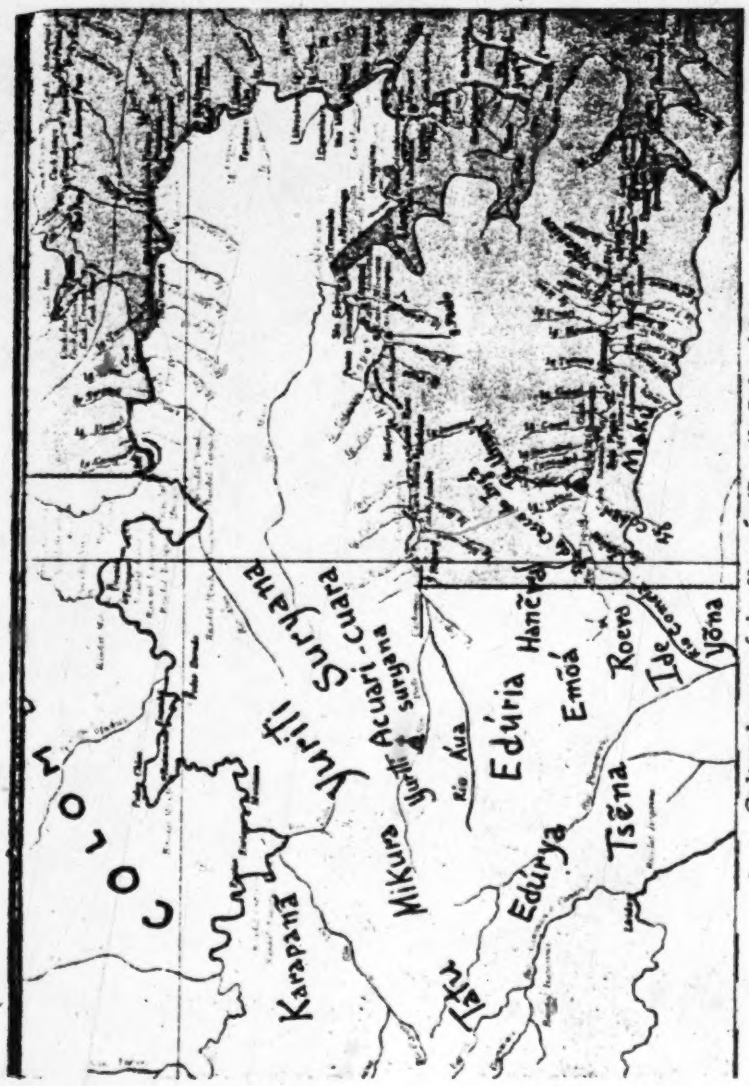

/21 cont./

3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

• 133 /22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apaporis), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of 301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put
[551] bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
• 133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

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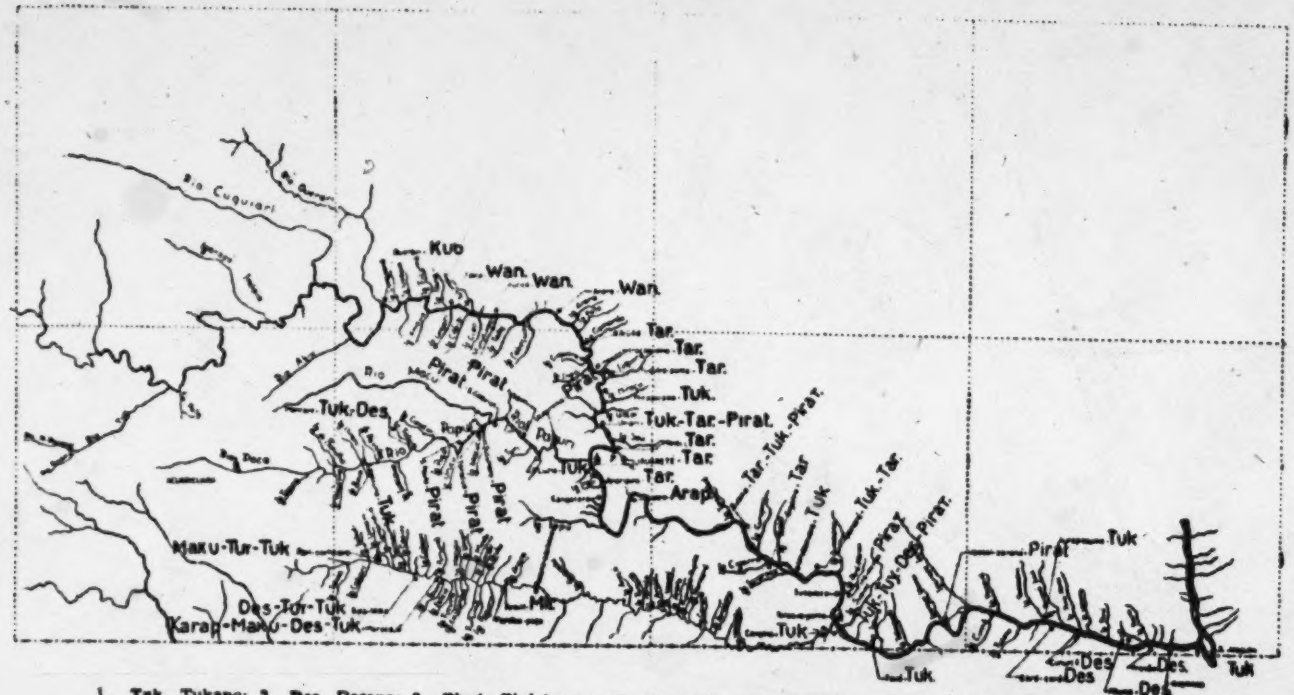
/56/ Tribes located in Brazilian territory along the rivers Uaupés and its two tributaries, the Papuri and the Tiquié



1. Tuk. Tukano; 2. Des. Desana; 3. Pirat. Pirá-tapuya; 4. Tar. Taryana; 5. Ipeka (Kumádene); 6. Arap. Arapásu; 7. Wan. Wanana. 8. Kub. Kubewana; 9. Makú; 10. Mir. Miriti; 11. Tuy. Tuyuka; 12. Kar. Karapaná; 13. Bará

4: Silva--80 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

4: Silva--81 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nãxkãro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there
361 were only malocas (1),
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[797]

1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

/ 415
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Grater
(One is seeing the small stones incrusted in a regular design.)

• 133
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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes

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[P X]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO

121 societies. In reconstructing tropical forest culture history, note must be taken of the extraordinary ease of cultural transfers over the entire area. For this reason alone knowledge of total cultural systems seems essential. As matters stand now, much reconstruction must be based upon the very unreliable foundation of trait comparisons. What has [177] been of special interest in my study of the Cubeo has been the way in which some widespread cultural traits, particularly masked dances, harvest rites, and sacred trumpets, have been taken up and fitted into distinctive cultural patterns with a focus in an ancestral cult.

• 133 The Northwest Amazon region is bounded on the south by the Amazon, from where it is joined by the Rio Negro eastward to where the Marañón issues from the Andes. The Guaviare River is its northern boundary, the Andean cordillera bounds it in the west, and the Rio Negro in the east. The principal rivers of the region are the Caquetá, Apaporis, Tiquié, Papurý, Isana, Vaupés (known in Brazil as the Caiarý), Cuduiarí, Querarí, Aiarí, Tie, and Guainía. All drain into the Amazon. Ecologically, the Northwest Amazon is sharply differentiated only from the neighboring Andean region to the west and to a lesser degree from the open prairie or llanos on its northern [137] side. Eastward it fades into the flatter and lower-lying forests of the Amazon. Its southern margin is fixed only by an arbitrary river boundary. It is a densely wooded region of tall trees closely packed and interlaced with vines and lianas. At the river edges the forest growth is lower and more brushlike. It is also an elevated region whose streams are punctuated by hazardous cataracts. On the Vaupés, between Yurupari and the Rio Negro, Dr. Hamilton Rice (1910) counted 30 major cataracts and 60 small ones. The cataracts (*cachoeiras*) are for the Indians focal points of residence. Traditional sites, they often mark tribal and sib boundaries. Every cataract has its petroglyphs that depict mythical figures still known to the Indians. In some areas, as I have observed, the residents of the *cachoeiras* freshen the petroglyphs from time to time with deepening incisions. The rapids are more of a navigational hazard to the European traveler than to the Indians, who are expert canoemen and whose light craft [502] is easily portaged. Dr. Rice, who knew a good deal about the Amazon, [501] declared the Cubeo to be the most expert canoemen on the river. I can also testify to their coolness and skill in navigating their small dugout canoes, that have only an inch or two of freeboard, through the twisting boulder-strewn channel of a thundering rapids.

The land slopes abruptly eastward. In its western part the area is often a tumble of ravine-cut hills, exposed rock, and swamp. The Vaupés flows past high, open, uninhabited mesas. Scattered hills of

[text continues on p. 10]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

133 igneous rock dot the country. These hills seem to have little interest for the Cubeo, but the mesas with their sandstone caves are held to be the dwellings of dangerous demons.

136 (251) Fish are generally abundant and are represented by hundreds of species. The favorite of all tribes is the aracú, which the Indians commonly smoke to preserve. The piranha and the river anaconda are the constant river hazards. The piranha seem always to be present, as can be proved by throwing animal entrails into the river. The waste is hit by the fish almost instantly and devoured within minutes. The Indians, however, do not dread either the anaconda or the piranha, but when preparing to bathe they circumspectly drum the surface of the water with their cupped hands to drive these creatures off. The river anaconda reaches a length of over 20 feet and is regarded as dangerous only in the vicinity of submerged trees, which it uses for leverage in seizing a victim and pulling him under. However, children who play constantly in such waters are aware of the hazard but are not afraid, nor are their elders anxious for them. I heard of no specific cases of injury from either piranha or anaconda. The man-eating cayman of the sluggish llanos rivers is absent here and the smaller cayman is a minor hazard.

The Northwest Amazon has its share of tropical forest game, although, as Lord Wallace observed (1870, p. 446), the Amazon is a mammal-poor region. The jaguar is feared in its supernatural aspect only. The peccary, until recently hunted by a group of men armed with spears, is acknowledged to be dangerous and aggressive when challenged. The tapir will also charge when annoyed, but neither animal fills the Indian with dread. For the rest, the forest game is small and shy. It consists of the small red deer, the rodents such as paca, capybara, and agouti, the raccoon-like coati, monkeys, and armadillo. River otters are common but are not molested. When they surround a canoe with their excited barking the Indians greet them with a discreet silence and wait for them to submerge again. Bird life is rich but of small economic importance.

(164) All visitors to the region have described vividly their unpleasant encounters with its insect life. The Indians are made equally miserable by the swarms of pium gnats and sand flies. Careless scratching of an insect bite produces dangerous ulcerations. I have seen Indians who had lost several square feet of skin from such spreading ulcers. Chigger (*neguas*) hygiene is a preoccupation of all residents of the Northwest Amazon. The Indians are expert in expelling the spherical sacs with a deft pressure from a stick or knife blade. In the forest the sting of the red ant bothers the naked Indians more than the clothed

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
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2

Economic Life

ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200–300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiarí are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings.

The Cuduiarí is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sand banks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. The Cuduiarí is an intimate river – along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.

222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about
[805]

[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

6: Moser and Tayler E, N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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[P. 32]

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

6

Panpipes and Don Giovanni

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Túcano SQ19

114 Probably they resulted from a small fly or mosquito injecting the egg into
136 the bloodstream. Horacio had come across them in the Llanos, but only in cattle and dogs, never in humans.

Though seldom bothered by mosquitoes we occasionally ran into a belt of the *pium* fly which could give very irritating bites. At night when we found a sand-spit, or dry ground in the forest where we could sling our hammocks in the trees, we would first inspect the ground to ensure that our equipment would not be covered in termites or ants by the morning. Fish, which the Indians caught for us, was now our main food. One type looked and tasted almost like salmon; another, a flat fish, was very similar to the *piraña* with its razor teeth and protruding lower jaw. Even in February, towards the end of the dry season, many days were overcast. When the sun did appear, it was usually followed by a heavy afternoon rainstorm often accompanied by a cold wind, so that in spite of our nylon jackets we found ourselves shivering with cold. One day we passed very close to a green water snake. It coiled itself and thrashed the water with its tail, its head out of sight, until it finally disappeared locked in the jaws of its invisible assailant.

Along the river banks and high in the trees overhead, we saw herons, ibis and egrets, a brownish bird similar to a bittern; king-fishers, not so brilliantly coloured as the British kind, and duck would rise off the water in front of the boat. The varying shades of green were broken by white hibiscus, the crimson flowers of the chocolate tree, the flashing blue wings of the giant morphous butterfly or the wasp yellow of a swallowtail, beautiful butterflies which sting like fire-ants as caterpillars and live on blood, offal and manure. Sometimes the transparent glinting wings of a dragonfly passed by, while at night shadowy nightjars flitted over the river between the pin-point glows of the fireflies.

114 On the evening of the second day after leaving the rapids we sighted the
• 133 Apaporis, a river of strange contrasts with its great width, muddy banks and putty-coloured water. We had decided to reach the falls of Jirijimo. They were alleged to be a magnificent sight when the river was in full spate. A few people had seen the falls from the air, though in the days of the rubber boom the river was used as a highway, and the *caucheros* had made ramps through the forest as a portage. But this movement up and down the river had always been during the wet season, and we were travelling during the last month of summer, when in fact the river was at its lowest ebb.

For two days we moved up the Apaporis after making a dump of all our equipment, including the Indian canoe which we hid in the forest, for we knew we would have to return the same way. On the evening of the second day we reached the falls of Playa, somewhere below Jirijimo. In the winter it would have been possible to have hauled the boat on to the great sandstone slabs and pulled it up the ramps, which, though terribly overgrown during
114 the last thirty years of disuse, could have been cleared sufficiently. But now